

Kahuna Ho'opunipuni Letters of 1863

LETTERS ABOUT *kahuna ho'opunipuni* are scattered throughout the early issues of the Hawaiian-language newspaper *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*. The purpose of this paper is to present English translations of those letters which appeared in the newspaper for the year 1863.

"*Kahuna*" ("kāhuna" is the plural form) means "an expert in any profession."¹ In the letters, each *kahuna* was practicing Hawaiian medicine, so we define *kahuna* here as "doctor." "*Ho'opunipuni*" means "false"² and thus, the term *kahuna ho'opunipuni* can be translated as "false doctor," or, for the purposes of this paper, "false *kahuna*."

The *kahuna ho'opunipuni* letters are, in essence, complaints by Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians about native physicians and their medical practice. Samuel M. Kamakau, in 1870, gives two reasons why a *kahuna* was called *ho'opunipuni*:

Now, if the *kahuna* could diagnose death before death occurred, he could use this skill for profit, or perhaps he would sympathize with the dying man in order to gain his aloha. Such *kahunas* were called deceivers, *he po'e ho'opunipuni*, because they knew beforehand that death was imminent. Some of them did not learn medical lore (*'oihana kahuna lapa'au*), and they, too, were called deceivers.³

Most of the traditional Hawaiian beliefs and practices described in the letters about *kahuna ho'opunipuni* are documented elsewhere. We

Collette Leimomi Akana is a teacher at the Kamehameha Schools and has taught Social Studies there for 19 years. She received an M.A. degree in History from the University of Hawai'i-Mānoa in 1983. She has also taught at Windward Community College and Kapi'olani Community College as a lecturer in the Hawaiian language.

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are already acquainted with the *kahuna* profession through the works of early Hawaiian scholars such as David Malo, Kepelino, John Papa Ii, S. N. Haleole, and Kamakau. Later writers on the subject include Joseph S. Emerson and June Gutmanis. The *kahuna ho'opuni'uni* letters supplement the major works and give us insight into actual cases handled by native medical practitioners.

Information contained in the letters includes talk of spirit possession, powers of suggestion, and the transfer of pain from one person to another. One *kahuna ho'opuni'uni* letter contains a short chant about the deities Kāne and Hina. Another speaks of the obscure *makani* spirits: Ulunui, Kalehuamakanoe, Ulamealani and Kukona. Several unfamiliar places such as Kaapahu, Poliokau, Kalokini and Waialoha are named by the correspondents. Certain beliefs and practices noted in the letters have not previously been recorded; further study is needed to determine whether these are a part of traditional Hawaiian culture.

The *kahuna ho'opuni'uni* letters also tell us something about the concerns of a particular segment of the island community in the year 1863. During this period of Hawaiian history, the Christian community had a great impact on the practice of *kāhuna*. Christian sentiments were voiced in half of the letters.

The letters are arranged chronologically, except for the letters dated October 10 and 24 which are replies to an earlier letter dated July 4, and are grouped with the July letter.

The writer of the first letter, named J. A. Kaelemakule, may have been the J. Kaelemakule of Kailua, Hawai'i who served as an informant on planting banana shoots for Joseph Emerson in 1903.⁴ Here he reports that *kahuna* Kalolii used divination to determine the source of the patient's sickness. In Hawaiian belief this was done through dreams (*moe 'uhane*), trances (*hiōhio*), visions (*haili moe*), voices of spirits (*nā leo wawalo*), apparitions (*akakū*), and supernatural voices or sounds (*ūlāleo*).⁵ The medical priest would also consider omens before seeing or treating a patient.⁶

In diagnosing the patient's problem, Kalolii concluded that "The danger of death is not from without, but from him alone." This meant that the illness was not caused by sorcery. A problem that had come from within was thought to have originated from an offense against

one of the major gods (Kāne, Kanaloa, Kū or Lono), or a family god or a lesser spirit.⁷

Kalolii tried a number of methods to help heal the ill person. One of the methods was to sprinkle liquid upon the patient's face. Sprinkling salt water and turmeric was a Hawaiian religious practice meant to purify an individual.⁸ Another method used by the native physician was to rub pieces of coconut on the patient's head and have him eat some of it. This was a common practice, for the ashes of broiled dried coconut meat were used to treat general debility of the body.⁹

The Hawaiian doctor's last method of treatment was sweating. This was the usual treatment prescribed for fever, so it is interesting that in this case it was employed to facilitate the departure of a malevolent spirit.¹⁰

Kaelemakule says he proposed that the family have a "*ho'oponopono*," or discussion, which was an essential part of traditional therapeutics. The Hawaiian family would get together in order to find out why someone was sick and to restore good relationships and relationships between god and man.¹¹

March 28, 1863

False *Kahuna*.

Nupepa Kuokoa; Greetings to you:

I always see the reports given by my friends concerning the nature of the work of some false Hawaiian *Kāhuna*. Their findings were fixed on your pages, oh Foremost Superior of the Hawaiian Nation, advisor to the multitudes of this race. Their instructions (which are educational) were issued before the public because they know what genuine deceit is. As the words of truth in the Holy Scriptures say, "By their fruits ye shall know them." And according to the Law set permanently upon all things which grow and all breathing creatures, the beginning will not differ from its own end. Therefore, the behavior and the character of every false *Kahuna* will not be concealed in his deeds; it will be clear and very obvious to see.

That's how it is my friends of the nation and those of one blood living on Hawai'i of Keawe, Maui of Kama, Kaua'i of Manokalanipō and the three smaller uninhabited islands. I tell you that I saw a very covetous and unskilled *Kahuna* who concealed his deceit, but it was

through the results of his practice that his character was revealed. Here in the district of Ha'aheo, Hilo is his place of residence. His name is Kalolii. And this is the story of how he became false. During midday of Monday, March 9th, Mrs. Kaumealani, the sister of Kapuaakuni, the patient, fetched Kalolii because her parents wanted someone to save their child. And in the evening time, perhaps it was eight o'clock, Kalolii came and quickly began to work. The medicine was liquid inside of two taro leaves which had been stirred together within two ti leaves tied in a bunch. He sprinkled the liquid upon the patient's face with some force, then stopped. He also had him drink the remaining liquid, but this did not bring relief. Afterwards, the *Kahuna* told Kaumealani to broil a piece of coconut in the fire until black and to break it all up. She was to rub it on top of the patient's head and have him take some internally. However, even this did not result in any comfort.

On Tuesday morning, the 10th, the *Kahuna* said, "If all of you are here and you see that his pain is so great today that it looks as though he will die, but then it quickly subsides, that is when the strange thing on top of him [spirit possessing the patient] has suddenly flown away and he will survive." Perhaps at two o'clock on that day, Kapuaakuni contracted a terrible pain in the buttocks which passed further downward, so that it wasn't very comfortable for him to sit firmly in one place. Kalolii was quickly fetched and upon arriving he began to work. He looked for signs, and when the divination ended he concluded, "The danger of death is not from without, but from him alone." While Kapuaakuni was sitting up I said to the *Kahuna*, "This is the right time to have a family discussion as you see fit, if you deem it the proper thing to do." He replied, "Wait, I want to do something new in my treatment. Bring some of your clothes here." At that time, Kalolii covered the patient with three white tapa garments and two blankets joined together. Covering his entire head, Kalolii said, "By and by you will have proper respiration." Let's look at what Kalolii was saying. If the air was closed off, how could this restore proper breathing? Truly a lie. Not more than five minutes later Kapuaakuni spoke from within the tapa cloth, "My breath is all gone." "That's how it should be. You need to remain so for half an hour and then your body will be totally at ease, the perspiration will flow and the spirit within you will slide easily away." Kapuaakuni said, "My temperature is very high from the bottom to the top of my body. I am soaked with sweat." "So it should be," uttered Kalolii.

Namakaomaui and I heard his throat gulping for a breath within the tapa so we immediately pulled it open. Upon doing this, we found that

his sight and hearing was gone. About a minute later his hard breathing stopped and he was completely dead. At this time, Kalolii stepped upon him kicking him everywhere with his feet. He also massaged the head and stomach. This was just a delay, for the patient did not recover.

Right after this Kalolii stood up and apologized, seeming very disturbed. But great indeed was our sorrow over his deceptive work.

I am revealing what I have witnessed in person in order to teach you, my friends, like those who have previously taught us what they knew. We will all benefit from the knowledge about the nature of false *Kahuna* like Kalolii. Goodbye to you all.

Wailua, Hilo, Mar. 15, 1863.

J. A. KAELEMAKULE

*Kahuna Hoopunipuni.*¹²

E ka Nupepa Kuokoa e; Aloha oe:

Ua ike mau au i ka wehewehe a kuu mau makamaka, no ke ano o ka hana a kekahi mau Kahuna Hawaii hoopunipuni, i hoopaia ko lakou mau manao wehewehe ma kou mau aoao, e ke Kilohana Pookela o ka Lahui Hawaii i mea ao aku i ka lehulehu o keia lahui, oia i, ua hoopukaia ko lakou mau olelo ao (hoonaauao) aku i ka lehulehu, mamuli o ko lakou ike ana he hoopunipuni io no. E like me ka olelo oiaio o ka Palapala Hemolele, e i ana, "Ma ko lakou hua e ike aku ai oukou ia lakou." A no ka mea hoi, e like me ke Kanawai i kauia a paa maluna o na mea kupu, a me na mea ola hanu a pau, pela, aole e ano e ana ke kumu i kona hope pono. Pela no, aole e nalo ana ka hana, a me ke ano o kela, a me keia Kahuna hoopunipuni ma kana hana ana; he molalelelo iloko o ke akaka loa ma ka ike aku.

Pela hoi e o'u mau makamaka ka lahui, a me ke koko hookahi; e noho ana i Hawaii o Keawe, a me Maui o Kama, me Kauai hoi o Manokalanipo, a me na mokupuni uuku iho ekolu i noho kanaka ole ia. Ke hai aku nei au ia oukou, ua ike au i kekahi Kahuna hoomakaulii loa a ka holona, nana i huna iho kona hoopunipuni a ma ka hua o kana hana i ike aku ai kona ano. Eia ma ka apana o Haaheo, Hilo, kona wahi i noho ai; o Kalolii kona inoa. A penei ka moololo o ka loa ana o kona hoopunipuni. I ke awakea o ka poakahi iho nei, la 9 o Maraki kii aku la o Mrs Kaumealani ke kaikuahine o Kapuaakuni ka mea mai, i ua o Kalolii, mamuli o ka makemake o na makua i mea e ola ai ka laua keiki; a i ka wa po, o ka hora 8 paha ia, hiki mai la o Kalolii, a hana koke; o ka laau, he wai iloko o na laukalo elua, a au puia me na wo lau elua, a pi aku la i ka wai ma ka maka me ka ikaika, a pau, hoochainu aku ia i ke koena wai, aole nae loa mai ka oluolu. Mahope iho, olelo aku la ua Kahuna 'la ia Kaumealani, e pulehu i ka apana niu i ke ahi, e eleele, anai a pau, hamo aku

ma ka manawa, a o kekahi, ai aku maloko aole nae loa i mai ka haawina o ka oluolu.

I ke kakahiaka poalua, la 10, olelo maila ua Kahuna'la, i na i noho oukou a i nui mai ka eha oia nei i keia la, he eha ku i ka make, alaila, pau koke, o ka wa ia e lele koke ai ka mea ano e iluna oia nei, alaila ola. I ka hora elua paha oua la'la, loa nui mai la o Kapuaakuni i ka eha ma ka puukole, a hala aku ilalo, aole oluolu pono ke noho paa ma kahi hookahi, a kii koke ia aku la o Kalolii, a hiki mai, hoomaka e hana, hoailona iho la, a pau ka hoailona ana, olelo mai la, "aole no waho mai ka make, nana iho no ka make." Eia no o Kapuaakuni ke noho nei iluna, i kela wa, olelo aku la wau i ua Kahuna'la, "Eia ka wa pono no ka hooponopono pu ana e like me kau ike, ina he mea kupono ia oe, olelo mai la kela, "Alia, e hana hou ae au i keia wahi hana a'u; homai na wahi kapa o oukou no inei." I kela wa, o ka uhi iho la noia o ua Kalolii nei i na aahu kapa keokeo ekolu, elua huluhulu i palua ia, hoopulouia a pau loa, me ka olelo iho, mamuli loa ka hanu maikai ia oe. E nana mai kakou ma keia mau olelo a Kalolii, i na i paa loa ke ea, he mea anei ia e loa ai ka hanu maikai? Wahahee maoli aole paha i alima minute, olelo ae la o Kapuaakuni iloko o ke kapa, "pau loa kuu aho." "Pela iho, he hapa hora kou e waiho ai, loa mai ka oluolu maikai o ke kino; a kahe aku ka hou, holo maikai mai ka makani o loko." Olelo ae la o Kapuaakuni, nui loa mai la kuu wela, mai lalo mai a luna o kuu kino, pulu loa i ka hou. "Pela iho," wahi a Kalolii nei.

A lohe maua me Namakaomai i ka hoho mai o ka puru iloko o ke kapa, pane koke aku maua e wehe i ke kapa. I ka wehe ana'ku, aole ike i koe, aole lohe, hookahi minute paha ma ia hope iho, pau ae la ka hoho ana, make loa iho la. Ia wa, ae ae iho la kela mahuna, mao a manei, me ka peku o ka wawae, lomi ma ke poo a me ka opu, pela ka apa ana aole ola ae.

Ma ia hope iho, ku mai kela a mihi me ka pono ole o kona manao, aka, nui ko makou kaumaha no kana hana hoopunipuni.

Ke hoike nei au me kuu ike maka, i mea e ao aku ai ia oukou e kuu poe makamaka, e like me lakou'la i ao mua mai ai ia kakou, e like me ko lakou ike, a i hoomahuahua ia kakou iho, i ke ano o na Kahuna hoopunipuni e like me Kalolii nei. Aloha oukou.

Wailua, Hilo, Mar. 15, 1863.

J. A. KAELEMAKULE

The second *kahuna ho'opunipuni* letter mentions *makani* spirits. Haleole says that the *makani* spirit, or mystic spirit, was either an evil spirit, an ancestral god, or the spirit of a man, woman or a young child who had died. When the *makani* controlled a *kahuna* then he was called a *kahuna makani*. Haleole describes the *kahuna makani* as a

male or female who had no knowledge of healing. The mystic power possessing the *kahuna* told him what to do and the sick person would obey him.¹³

There are many accounts of how the *kahuna* of old Hawai'i used medium possession to treat his patients.¹⁴ According to Kamakau, the *kahuna makani* could

induce spirits to enter the patients. They were often called 'deifiers,' and 'deceivers' (*po'e kahuna ho'omanamana, a he po'e ho'opunipuni*). Some of them, perhaps, did seek wealth by deceiving and lying, but there were others who did not—they really did have medical knowledge and they did heal many people."¹⁵

The historian William D. Alexander says the spirit was called a *makani*, or wind, which "descended upon the *kahuna*, and showed him the cause of the sickness, whether the patient had been bewitched by a sorcerer, and by whom."¹⁶

In traditional Hawaiian therapeutics, a native doctor would use his power to transfer the patient's pain to another creature or object. In some cases a *kahuna* would even transfer the pain of a woman in labor on to her husband or other creature.¹⁷ Here we see the *kahuna* attempting to transfer the illnesses upon his students.

April 18, 1863

False *Kahuna*.

Nupepa Kuokoa; Greetings to you:

On the night of the first day of April, an extraordinary thing happened. People are continually being misled by a fellow and others who were possessed by the *makani* spirits and who deceive the populace through their medical practice.

This is how the operation began. There were four patients, one with dropsy, one with ulcer, one with asthma and another who was an invalid. Such were the words of the head *kahuna* to the *kāhuna* below him, "I want to make the illnesses climb atop of you." The *kāhuna* below him consented, "Guess it's alright." The *kahuna* who was possessed by a lying spirit said, "One of you go and seize the patient with dropsy so his condition climbs on top of you. That person will then be cured.

And do the same for the ones with ulcer and asthma, and for the invalid." The *kāhuna* below him simply agreed. I thought it would be true, that all the illnesses mentioned above were really going from the bodies of the sick people on to his *kāhuna*, and the sick ones would be cured. But not so! Look at the fellow who is adept in telling lies. He pretends not to be a worthless dab of excreta. People continue to be misled in deceit by this man who is very clever in his false work. Doesn't this man even recognize the great crime he committed by lying? Imagine if his work was like the miraculous work which Jesus performed at Galilee. I really think that it wouldn't be like that of the Child of God who was supplied with power from heaven. Look at John 3:13, "No man has ascended into heaven and still lived; but he who descended from heaven."

Those of you here, and those over there, let us not get wrapped up in this lying, or else God will punish us immensely. God punished Ananias and his wife Sapphira for this very same sin of lying. With gratitude.

Wai'alaie, O'ahu, April 8, 1863.

A. W. IKELOA

Kahuna Hoopunipuni.¹⁸

E ka Nupepa Kuokoa e; Aloha oe:

Ma la po o ka la mua o Aperila nei, hana ia kekahi hana kupanaha, o ka pau ole o ke kuhieheva o kanaka i kekahi kanaka a mau kanaka paha i nohoia e na makani ano akua, hoopunipuni wale mai i ka lehulehu, ma ka lapaau mai ana.

Penei ke kumu o ka hana ana, eha mai, hookahi opuohao; hookahi puha; hookahi hano; hookahi mumuku. Penei ka olelo a ke kahuna nui i na kahuna malalo iho ona. "Ke makemake nei au e hoopii i ka mai iluna o oukou." Ae aku no na kahuna malalo iho ona, "Ae no hoi paha." Olelo aku ke kahuna i nohoia e ke akua hoopunipuni. "E hele kekahi o oukou e hopu i ka opuohao, i pii mai iluna o oukou kona ohao, ola ae hoi kela, i pela aku no hoi i ka mai puha, a me ka mai hano, a me ka mumuku." He ae wale io hoi ka ka poe kahuna malalo iho ona, i kuhi au he oiaio, e hele io ana la keia mau mai a pau i oleloia maluna, mai ke kino mai o ka poe nona ia mau mai maluna o kona mau kahuna, a e ola ae hoi ka poe nona ka mai, aole ka! nana aku oe ua mea he akamai i ka wahahee, hookohukohu pala uka ole ua mea o ka hoopunipuni pau ole no hoi ke kuhiehewa o keia poe i ka hoopunipuni ia mai e ke kanaka akamai nui wale ma kana oihana hoopunipuni; aole paha he ike iki o keia kanaka i ke karaima nui e waiho nei o ka hoopunipuni? I kuhi paha e like aku ana kana hana me ka Iesu mau hana mana ana i hana'i ma Galilaia, ke manaoio nei

au, aole e loaa aku ka ke Keiki a ke Akua, ka mea i lako i ka mana mai ka lani mai. E nana iho oe ma Ioane 3:13. "Aohe kanaka i pii luna i ka lani e loaa'i la hoi ia ia ke ola; aka, o ka mea wale no i iho mai mai ka lani mai."

E lakou nei e, a me lakou la aku hoi, mai hoopapau kakou mamuli o ka wahahee, o hoopai mai ke Akua i ka hoopai weliweli mauna o kakou, e like me ka ke Akua hoopai ana ia Anania a me kana wahine o Gabeire, no keia hewa hookahi no, o ka wahahee. Me ka mahalo.

Waialae, Oahu, Aperila 8, 1863.

A. W. IKELOA

The third *kahuna* letter is interesting because it mentions the legendary high chiefess Lā'ieikawai.¹⁹ This may be the only record connecting Lā'ieikawai to medium possession.

April 18, 1863

False Woman

Nupepa Kuokoa, Greetings to you:

Because I want our friends to know the deeds of this deceitful woman (her name is Kaheana) living in the district of Kapulena, in Hāmākua, hence I am telling you about her activities. I heard about what she did from people who returned from there.

In the night, Lā'ieikawai possessed Kaheana. Some black things arched on her cheeks and she called them rainbows, the sign of Lā'ieikawai. That's what she continues to do in the night and there are many people who believe her. Perhaps it is best that she heed this little song:

"Ill-suited are the portable houses,
That stand upon steering paddles."

The dishonesty and disguise of Hawaiians have not ended as medical treatment was given to Kale Polapola. No one, not even the false one, could cure his eyes which had become inflamed.

Oh *Nupepa Kuokoa*, you should take this and spread the word about the activities of this evil upstart.

I remain with regards to the public and especially to the *Kuokoa* Organization.

J. S. K.

Kaapahu [Ka'āpahu is a place name on Kaua'i, Lāna'i and Moloka'i],²⁰ Hāmākua, Hawai'i, April 7, 1863.

*Wahine Hoopunipuni*²¹

E ka Nupepa Kuokoa e, Aloha oe:

No ko'u makemake e ike mai na makamaka o kaua i ka hana a keia wahine hoopunipuni e noho mai nei ma ka apana o Kapulena, ma Hamakua nei, (o Kaheana kona inoa) nolaila, ke hai aku nei au i ke ano o kana hana a'u i lohe ai i kekahi poe i hoi mai laila mai.

Ma ka po, ua noho iho o Laieikawai iluna o ua Kaheana nei, a ua pio mai he mau mea eleele ma kona mau papalina, a ua kapa iho kela ia mau mea eleele he mau anuenue, ka hoailona no Laieikawai, pela no oia e hana mau ai ma ka po, a ua nui no ka poe i puni ia ia. E aho paha ua kupono oia i keia wahi mele:

*"Kohu ole na hale lewa,
I ke ku ana i ka hoeuli."*

Pau ole no hoi ka epa a ka Hawaii, ka hookohukohu wale iho no, i hoolapaau iho ka hana ia Kale Polapola, aohe wahi mea a ola iki ka maka, o ka hele ae ia a piheka loa, ka ua mea o ka hoopunipuni.

E lawe oe e ka Nupepa Kuokoa a hoolaha ae i ka hana a keia kupu ino.

O wau no me ke aloha i ka poe lehulehu, a me ka Ahahui Kuokoa no hoi.

Kaapahu, Hamakua, Hawaii, Aper. 7, 1863.

J. S. K.

The next letter mentions several Hawaiian plants that the people of old used medicinally. The first is the narcotic drink called 'awa, or kava (*Piper methysticum*),²² which was also used by natives for ceremonies.²³ In this letter the *kahuna* received 'awa as payment for her services. The native doctor would partake of the drink to strengthen the power of the spirit that took possession of him.²⁴ Mary Pukui translated an article about 'awa by Kauea in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* on January 5, 1867 which said, "The *kahuna* took the 'awa root and used divination to see whether the patient would live or die, whether he could be treated or not."²⁵

The second plant mentioned in the following letter is ti leaf. Hawaiians believed ti leaves guarded a person against evil and were used to drive away sickness from someone who was ill. Some people wore them on their necks to prevent illness.²⁶ Here the students of the *kahuna* wore ti leaves and were ordered to carry the leaves with them.

Two other plants used by this *kahuna* were 'akia [*Wikstroemia* spp.]²⁷

and *ipu 'awa'awa* [*Lagenaria siceraria*]²⁸ which were mixed into a liquid for the members of the household to drink. In the ancient practice of kahunaism, the sorcerer priest took these plants and prepared them over his furnace as he prayed.²⁹ According to Kamakau, the *kahuna* drank potions of these poisonous plants so that he could act insanelly in order to cure his patient.³⁰

When the native doctor in this fourth letter asked for a gourd, someone gave her a container bound with cord. She refused to use it because the cord symbolized a rope that would bind the sick person.

The *kahuna* then asked the house owner to open the door. This was done to expedite the departure of the evil spirit that possessed the girl. According to Hawaiian belief, "spirits objected to being forced through closed openings."³¹

When the door was opened the *kahuna* squatted on her haunches like a spider and clung to the wall of the house. Kamakau notes that the *kahuna* acted insane when other methods of healing failed.³²

After the Hawaiian physician tried everything she could to save the patient, she uttered the word "*make*" which means "death."³³ In ancient Hawai'i if this word was spoken after sunset, one could avert death by saying "*He make ko ka po, he hakaka ko ke ao!*"—Death at night, a quarrel in the morning."³⁴

The chant included in this letter names the gods Kāne and Hina. Kāne was "a god of creation and the ancestor of chiefs and commoners; a god of sunlight, fresh water, and forests . . . to whom no human sacrifices were made."³⁵ Hina was a goddess widely known throughout Polynesia as being connected with the moon.³⁶

May 9, 1863

False Medical *Kahuna*.

Nupepa Kuokoa! Greetings to you. Because I know you have patience and incomparable good will in taking people's luggage and transferring it for them, I will accordingly give you my bit of baggage. And it is for you to go and take it in front of all your subscribers living from Hawai'i to Ni'ihau so that those who love the news will understand the nature of the work of this false woman named Makala. Therefore, she should heed those words in the title of this presentation. Below we will see the nature of her practice which is full of deceit and genuine lies. Her words are as follows:

On the 14th of March, 1863, the aforementioned *Kahuna* was fetched by Haupu, the younger sibling of the father of the patient Kapua. When Haupu went to get her, he went with an 'awa plant to offer before the *Kahuna* as payment for her to come. She would not have gone if the 'awa was not offered before her. When Haupu reached the *Kahuna's* house, there she was. The *Kahuna* was sleeping with her face down, and she wore a *makoloa* [same as *makaloa*] mat.³⁷ As she awoke and sat up, Haupu gave the 'awa plant in front of her. She asked him, "Is there a problem?" "Yes," said Haupu. The *Kahuna* asked again, "Who's girl is this?" He replied, "She belongs to my older brother Keoni." "Not," uttered the *Kahuna*. "Kamiki's," declared Haupu. And this time the *Kahuna* agreed with him.

At this time, she gave an order to the students she had trained. The students came dressed up with ti leaf garlands adorning their heads. There were twelve of them. At this time she ordered each of her students to bring ti leaves in their hands. Then the *Kahuna* sent Haupu away so that he would get back first, and they would get there last.

When Haupu arrived at home, his older brother asked, "Where, alas, is the *Kahuna*?" Haupu said, "She will soon come." Not much time passed when the *Kahuna* came with her student Mahinaula and the bulk of the students were in the rear. When the *Kahuna* and her students first arrived, the *Kahuna* came in and sat on the right side of the door. Then the *Kahuna* inquired of the patient, "Where does it hurt you?" "On the left side," replied the sick one. Then the *Kahuna* slapped her hands on her left side, and asked the ill person, "How's your pain?" The patient answered, "It is going on my stomach." The *Kahuna* slapped again on her stomach with her hands, and asked the ill one, "How is that pain of your's?" "It is going on my back," answered the afflicted. And because the patient's pain could not be removed by the *Kahuna*, she gave the sick person over to her student Mahinaula so that she could do something. Her practice was similar to that of the teacher who taught her.

And after the *Kahuna's* treatment, the majority of the students came with individual ti leaf bundles in their hands. Since the pain of the patient was not removed, the students and the other people were made to sit down in the same way. At this time, she ordered someone to fetch a water gourd container, and a container fixed with cord was brought. The *Kahuna* said to Keoni, "Is this a binding rope for your daughter?" And a new water gourd which was not bound with a cord was then fetched. The liquid within the corded gourd was poured into the cordless gourd. The liquid was later poured into a cup, and the *Kahuna*

asked for a sugar cane stalk, a pandanus leaf, salt, and all the bitter leaves, the *ʻākia*, the pandanus, and the *ipu ʻawaʻawa*. The person who was supposed to drink it drank, and was asked, "What did you get?" "A bitter pandanus," said the first drinker. The patient was asked, "How is your pain?" "It aches," replied the sick one. That's how she made all the people of the house drink, knowing that it was really only water. They drank everything, the bitter *ʻākia* and so forth.

Because the afflicted was not healed by this method, she stood up and said, "Blot that door out of my sight." On account of what she said, the house owner went ahead to open the door. Then, she ran up close to the threshold of the house and squatted on haunches like a spinning spider clinging to the wall of a house. She asked the patient, "How is your pain?" "It hurts," replied the sick one. And since this act did not heal her, she took the ill person to a house far away. The *Kahuna* told the parents of the patient, "Bake a pig [a customary religious offering to ask the gods to heal a sick person],"³⁸ and this was done. Because it did not cure her, she called to Ekau to come and chant. They began to chant sinfully, and this is how it went:

"Bathe in the water of Kāne in the invisible beyond [*polihua* in
the original is probably a misspelling for *polikua*]³⁹
I have a vision in the head,
Enter oh gourd,
Come oh fragrance,
Here is the water, the water of life,
Glorious is the travels of Kāne on the road.
Walk as a God; walk as a man,⁴⁰
Walk for Hina,
Indeed Kāne's water of life."

And since there was no recovery by this means, she again called upon a student of her's, Kaaiulaula, to come and lie on top of the patient's stomach. And Kaaiulaula asked, "How is your pain?" "It hurts," replied the sick one. And because it did not heal her, she (the *Kahuna*) asked for vegetables and meat. These things were brought in and the patient ate them. Then the *Kahuna* proclaimed a very terrifying word, "Die!" All of her students cleared their throats at the same time and this was the end of their exaggeration, jesting, and nonsense.

Where are you oh Foremost Superior of the Hawaiian Nation? Be quick and insert this in a separate part of your patient's bag so that every person living in these islands will know of such immeasurable deceit. I thought that the light of knowledge had come to Hawai'i, but

not so! Here is the reason why I am spreading this information: I heard that Makala and her husband Kaalii are brethren of the Lahaina church. Behold! They are brethren of the devil's church. This is the reason why Rev. D. Baldwin, the pastor of the Lahaina church should listen, for his sheep have gone astray and his mind should be depressed about it. And if it is, then the pastor of the Waialua church should also be depressed, because the brethren in Kawaihāpai have joined together inside the devil's church under the direction of Makala. Alas then for all the churches on this earth.

Mokulē'ia, Waialua, O'ahu, Mar. 31, 1863

H. L. KEKAULA

*Kahuna Lapaa Hoopunipuni.*⁴¹

E KA NUPEPA KUOKOA E!—Aloha oe: No ko'u ike i kou ahonui, a me kou lokomaikai luaole i ka lawe ana'ku i ka ukana a ka poe mea ukana e hooili aku nei, nolaila, ke hooili aku nei hoi au i ka'u wahi ukana, a nau hoi ia e lawe hele aku imua o ka poe a pau i lawe i kou kino, e noho ana mai Hawaii, a Niihau, malia o ike iho ka poe puni mea hou i ke ano o ka hana a keia wahine hoopunipuni, o Makala kona inoa. A nolaila, ua kupono ia ia kela olelo ma ke poo o keia kukulu manao ana. Eia malalo iho nei kakou e ike ai i ke ano o kana mau hana, i ku i ka hoopunipuni, a me ka wahahee maoli no hoi, a penei no kana mau olelo:

Ma ka la 14 o Maraki, o ka M. H. 1863, ia manawa, kiiiia aku la ua Kahuna nei e Haupū, ke kaikaina o ka makuakane, o Kapua ka mea i mai. Iloko o ko Haupū manawa i kii ia, ua hele aku oia me ka pu-awa, i mea e mohai aku ai ma ke alo o ua Kahuna nei, i kumu nona e hele mai ai, no ka mea, aole oia e hele wale mai ke ole e mohaiia aku ka awa imua o kona alo, ia Haupū i hiki aku ai ma ka hale o ua Kahuna nei, aia hoi, e moe ana ua Kahuna nei ilalo ke alo, ua aahu oia i ke kapa moena Makoloa, a me kona ala ana ae a noho iluna, ia manawa, haawi aku la o Haupū i ka pu-awa ma kona alo, ninau mai la oia ia Haupū, "Pilikia ea?" "Ae," wahi a Haupū. Ninau hou ke Kahuna, "Nawai ke kaikamahine?" Wahi a Haupū, "Na kuu kaikuaana, na Keoni." "Aole?" Wahi a ua Kahuna nei. "Na Kamiki," wahi a Haupū, ia wa, ae mai la ua Kahuna nei ia ia.

Ia manawa, kena ae la oia i ua haumana ana i ao aku ai, ua hele a ohu na haumana i na lei laula-i i kahikoia ma ko lakou mau poo; he umikumamalu ko lakou nui, ia wa, kauoha aku la oia i ua mau haumana nei ana, e lawe mai i mau la-i pakahi ma ko lakou mau lima. Aia hoi, kipaku e mai la ua Kahuna nei ia Haupū e hoi e mamua, a mahope mai lakou.

Ia Haupū i hiki aku ai ma ka hale, ninau mai la kona kaikuaana, "Auhea

ka hoi ua Kahuna nei?" Wahi a Hauapu, "Ina iho a hiki mai." Aole i liuliu iho, hiki ana no ua Kahuna nei me kekahi haumana ana, oia o Mahinaula, a mahope mai ka nui o na haumana. I ua Kahuna la me kana mau haumana i hiki mua mai ai, komo ae la ua Kahuna nei a noho ma ka aoao akau o ka puka, alaila, ninau aku la ua Kahuna nei i ka mai, "Mahea ko wahi eha?" "Ma ka aoao hema," wahi a ka mea i mai. Alaila, pa-ipa-i iho la ua Kahuna nei i kona mau lima ma kona aoao hema, a ninau aku la i ka mea i mai, "Pehea ko eha?" Wahi a ka mea i mai, "Ke holo ae nei ma kuu opu." Pa-ipa-i hou no ua Kahuna nei ma kona opu i kona lima, a ninau aku la i ka mai, "Pehea ua eha nei ou?" "Ke holo ae nei ma kuu kua," wahi a ka mea i mai. A no ka hemo ole o ka eha o ua mai nei i ua Kahuna la, haawi aku la oia i ua mai nei i kahi haumana ana ia Mahinaula, nana e hana, a i kana hana ana, a ua like pu no me ka hana a ke kumu nana ia i ao mai.

A mahope iho o keia hana ana a ua Kahuna nei, hiki mai la ka nui o na haumana, me na pu-a la-i pakahi ma ko lakou mau lima, a no ka hemo ole o ka eha o ua mai nei, nolaila, ua hoonohe likeia ka nui o na haumana a me ka poe e ae; ia manawa, kena ae la oia i kekahi mea e kii aku i huawai, a laweia mai la ka huawai ua paa i ka aha. Olelo aku la ua Kahuna nei ia Keoni, "He kaula hikii keia no ko kaikamahine?" A kii houia'ku la ua huawai hou i paa ole i ka aha a niniia iho la ka wai o ka huawai aha iloko o ka huawai aha ole, a mahope, niniia ua wai la iloko o kekahi kiaha a noi aku la ua Kahuna nei i ha-ko, i lauhala, i paakai ame na lau awaawa no a pau, ka akia, ka hala, a me ka ipu awaawa, a inu ka mea nana e inu, a ninau ia aku la "Heaha ka mea i loa ia oe," "He muemue hala," wahi a ka mea inu mua, a ninau aku la i ka mai, "Pehea ko eha?" "Ke eha nei no," wahi a ka mai. Pela no kona hooainu ana a pau ka poe o ka hale me ko lakou ike aku no he wai maoli wale no; a ina hooinu ana hoi ana a pau, he muemue akia, a pela aku.

A no ke ola ole o ua mai nei ia hana ana, ia wa, ku ae la oia iluna, a olelo iho ia, "E nahaha ana ia'u kela puka" a no kona olelo ana peia kii mua ka mea hale e wehe i ka ipuka, alaila, holo aku la oia a pili ma ka paepae puka o ka hale, kiikiki ae la iluna me he Punawelewele la ka pili ma ka paia o ka hale. Ninau aku la oia i ka mai, "Pehea ko eha?" "Ke eha nei no," wahi a ka mai. A no ke ola ole ma ia hana ana, lawe aku la oia i ka mai i kekahi hale e aku, a olelo iho la ua Kahuna nei i na makua o ka mea i mai, "E kalua i puua," a ua hookoia ia mea, a no ke ola ole no o ka mai. Kahea aku la oia ia Ekau, e hele mai e oli, a o ko laua hoomaka iho la no hoi ia e oli, a penei ke oli ana a laua:

"Auau i ka wai polihua a Kane,
He aka ku ko'u i ka manawa,
Komo mai e ka ipu,
Hele mai e ke ala,

*Eia ka wai, he wai ola,
Nani ka hele ana a Kane i ke ala.
Kapuai Akua; kapuai kanaka
Kapuai no Hina,
Wai ola a Kane hoi—e."*

A no ke ola ole ma keia hana ana, kahea hou aku la oia i kekahi haumana ana ia Kaaiulaula e hele mai e moe maluna o ka opu o ka mai. A ninau iho la ua o Kaaiulaula, "Pehea ko eha?" "He eha no," wahi a ka mea i mai. A no ke ola ole, nonoi mai la oia (ke Kahuna) i ai, i i-a, a laweia aku la keia mau mea, a ai ka mai i ka ai, a me ka i-a, alaila, hoopuka ae la ua Kahuna nei i ka hua-olelo weliweli loa. "Make—e!" Puha like mai la na haumana ana a pau, a o ka pau ae la no keia o ka lakou palau ana, a me ka lakou kukahekahe a lalau hoi—e.

Auhea oe e ke Kilohana Pookela o ka Lahui Hawaii nei, e wiki oe, a e hoo-komo iho i keia ma kahi kaawale o kou opu ahonui, i mea hoi e ike mai ai kela a me keia mea e noho ana ma keia mau mokupuni, i ka hoopunipuni luaole e like me keia. Ua kuhi au, ua hiki mai ka malamalama ma Hawaii nei, aole ka!—Eia ke kumu o ko'u hoolaha ana i keia mea, ua lohe au, he hoahanau o Makala, a me kana kane o Kaaialii, no ka ekalesia ma Lahaina, a eia ka! he hoahanau no ka ekalesia a diabololo. I mea hoi e lohe ai o Rev. D. Balauina, ke kahu o ka ekalesia ma Lahaina, no ka mea, ua auana keia mau hipa ana, a e kaumaha auanei kona manao; a ina e kaumaha kona manao, pela e kaumaha ai ke kahu o ka ekalesia ma Waialua nei, no ka mea, ke hele nei na hoahanau ma Kawaihapai, e huihu iloko o ka ekalesia a diabololo, ma ke alakaiia e keia Makala. E aloha auanei e na ekalesia a pau ma keia honua.

Mokuleia, Waialua, Oahu, Mar. 31, 1863

H. L. KEKAULA.

In the fifth *kahuna ho'opunipuni* letter, the female doctor recognized that the patient did not have a disease. She believed that the girl's clothes fell into the hands of a sorcerer who was using it as "bait" to cause the illness.⁴²

The native physician tried to cure her patient through possession by the obscure gods Ulunui, Kalehuamakanoe, Ulamealani, and Kukona who were said to be of the *makani* type of gods. The *kahuna* also asked that the sick girl's mother administer taro leaves to her daughter five times a day. The number five is prominent in Hawaiian medicine and in ceremonies.⁴³

When the *kahuna* drank 'awa and went to sleep, the writer of this

letter argued that the doctor had no real interest in taking care of the sick girl. However, in Hawaiian therapeutics, a *kahuna* would go to go to sleep to get a sign foretelling whether the patient would recover or die.⁴⁴

The following letter mentions a house being built of *lehua* (*Metrosideros macropus*, *M. collina* subsp. *polymorpha*).⁴⁵ A Hawaiian doctor would have a house built when an affliction did not cease. Houses mentioned in other works were said to have been made of *hau* (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*),⁴⁶ *lama* (*Diospyros*, synonym *Maba*)⁴⁷ and ti leaves.⁴⁸

July 4, 1863

False *Kahuna* Who Resembles
The Thunder Without Rain.

Nupepa Kuokoa. Greetings to you: Perhaps you've seen the words "False *Kahuna* Who Resembles The Thunder Without Rain," which are expressed above. There at Waimānalo, Ko'olau Poko is the place where this *kahuna* named Kaai (female) lives. She was good before, but recently much lying and outright trickery have surfaced over the life of the sick person whom some *kāhuna* believed they could have saved. The patient she treated without even curing was Kamakolu (female), who had a sharp ache in the shoulder blade. The *kahuna* recognized the problem and said, "It isn't a disease, it's only a minor thing, but still, you gave clothes to someone else." "Yes," admitted the patient.

The *kahuna* told her, "This panting of your's won't be removed by another person, and by sending for me you will see that it is no problem at all. You won't die by a family god, nor by anyone else." The nurses were convinced that this was the *kahuna* who could do the job for she shined above the rest. When she lost consciousness from the pain the *kahuna* urged her to return seaward to Poliokau [unknown place name]. The patient and the nurses went.

When they got to the *kahuna's* place, her suffering was quite unusual. She labored for breath with tremendous effort, and some hours passed before she was at ease. The sick person's father questioned the *kahuna*. He said, "My mind is troubled over my child. You are treating her, but nothing is soothing the pain." At this time, Ulunui, one of the gods who increase food crops and fish, possessed the *kahuna*. She announced, "Don't let your heart throb bitterly for her. Only with me will her trouble end. The problem was caused by Kaio" (the husband of her older sister).

Here is something else: the patient's suffering was awful. Her shortness of breath got worse, and her heart rang like the continuous menacing sound of a cat. The god on top of the *kahuna* spoke, "This is the god who will be the first to restore Kamakolu to health with ti leaf bundles or perhaps young taro tops." In no time at all, the taro leaves were acquired. It was the job of the patient's mother to administer it five times and always in that way. The nurses supplied 'awa at the *kahuna*'s request. She drank it and went to sleep, not even taking care of the sick one.

After all of these things happened, the patient's distress was still great. The *kahuna* knew what was wrong with the ill person, so she pretended to be sick by saying, "The ailment has jumped on me." She cried a lot stating that she would surely die before the patient, because her pain was so intense. Not so. Then Kamakolu's sickness became puzzling once again. There was a sharp ache in her side. The exaggerating *kahuna* said, "I have a very sharp ache," and she writhed with a loud voice, and spoke a great deal about her pain. When you look at it, that deceitful act had no justification. In addition, the *kahuna* asked for a house made out of *lehua*. The post, the house rafters, the house platform, and the ridgepole had to be of *lehua*. And the house had to have seven sections in it. The *kahuna* also asked for a disemboweled dog [commonly used as an offering to the gods],⁴⁹ and clothes that would replace those taken. Two months went by for this treatment.

The sick person's husband clearly understood the corrupt medical practice of the *kahuna*. She certainly did have many *makani* gods possessing her. Here are the names of her gods: Ulunui, Kalehuamakanoe, Ulamealani, Kukona, etc. The *kahuna* treated the patient through possession, not using any kind of medicine, except for a little something in a bottle. And in the evening of June 15, Kukeliikahaoa revealed that the *kahuna*'s knowledge was over with. And it was the first time that he agreed to take the patient inland. On the dawn after the 15th of June, the sun left warm Kamakolu. Pity!

The reason why the *kahuna* is compared to the thunder without rain is because the *kahuna* said that Kamakolu's people would be completely destroyed. But it was just Kamakolu who died. The woman's husband left. And our great fear is that it has been said that I will die. Thus, you be patient with these words *Nupepa Kuokoa*, and take them with great speed to the length and width of the Kingdom of the Hawaiian Islands. With regards.

Waimānalo, Ko'olau Poko, O'ahu, June 27, 1863

N. JOHN KIMO.

*Kahuna hoopunipuni i hooha-
likeia me ka hekili—Pamalo.*⁵⁰

E KA NUPEPA KUOKOA E;—*Aloha oe: Ua ike ae la paha oe i keia mau hua olelo i haia ae la maluna, "Kahuna hoopunipuni i hoohalikeia me ka Hekili—Pamalo."* Aia ma Waimanalo, Koolaupoko, kahi i noho ai o keia kahuna, a o ka inoa o keia kahuna o Kaai (w.) he maikai no oia mamua, aka, i keia manawa hoi, ua puka mai ka hoopunipuni nui ame ka lauwiki opea wale i ke ola o ka mea mai i manaoia e kekahi poe kahuna he ola ia lakou; a o ua mai la ana i lapaau ai me ke ola pono ole, oia o Kamakolu (w.) he o-e hui ma ka iwihoehoe kona mai. O ka ike a ua kahuna nei, "Aohe mai, he wahi mea uuku wale no, eia nae la, ua haawi oe i ka lole ia hai," "Ae," wahi a ka mai.

I ho la ua kahuna nei, "O keia mai nae ou, aole e hemo ia hai, a o ke kii ana ae nei ia'u, aole he pilikia, aole make aumakua, aole make i kela ame keia mea." Paa loa iho la ka manao o ka poe kahu mai, o ke kahuna ia, i hana iho ka hana, menei no ka hinuhinu, ka piikauhala mai la ia o ua eha nei i koi aku la ua kahuna nei e hoi i kai o Poliokau; ua holo ia i ka mai, ame na kahu mai.

O ka hoi no keia a hiki i kahi o ke kahuna, ano e mai la ka eha, kaila pau ka hanu me ka ikaika loa, a hala paha kekahi mau hora, alaila, oluolu iho la. Ninau aku la ka makuakane o ua mai la i ke kahuna, i aku la, "Ke pilikia nei kuu naau i kuu keiki, ke hana aku nei oe, aohe wahi mea a oluolu mai o ka mai." Ia manawa, ua noho iho la o Ulunui, kekahi o na'kua hoolu ai, a hoolu i-a iluna o ua kahuna nei, a i mai la, "Mai lele ino mai kou oili ia ianei, me a'u wale no ia a pau kona pilikia, aia ka mai pilikia o Kaio," (ke kane a ke kaikuaana.)

Eia kekahi, a nui mai la ka eha o ka mai pii mai la ka nae, a kani iho la ka puu e like me ko ka popoki ka nunulu mau, olelo mai la ua akua la iluna o ua kahuna nei, "O ke akua ia e kupaku la o Kamakolu mua, ame Pulaui, oia keia, i luau paha." He manawa ole ua loa ka luau, o ka hana iho la no ia a ka makuahine o ka mai, kualima ae ana, pela mau aku. A hoolako aku la no hoi ka poe kahu mai i awa ma ka olelo a ke kahuna, inu iho la no ua kahuna nei, pa no moe, aohe lapaau iki mai i ka mai.

Mahope iho o keia mau mea, nui mai la ka popilikia o ua mai nei, ike iho la ua kahuna la i ka pilikia o ka mai, alaila, hoomaimai iho la kela, me ka olelo mai, "Ua lele mai nei ka mai ia'u," nui loa iho la kona auwe ana, me ka olelo iho, oia ka ke make e mamua, no ka nui loa o kona eha, ole wale. A ano e hou ae la ka mai o Kamakolu, he o ma ka aoao, i iho la ua kahuna palau nei, "he o no hoi ko'u," a hookaawili iho la kela me ka leo nui, a nui no hoi kona walaau ana no kona eha. I ka nana aku he kuleana ole kela hana hoopunipuni, a i mai la ua kahuna nei i hale lehua, he lehua ka pou, ke oa, ka paepae, ke kau-paku, ehiku wa o ka hale, he ilio kuai, i mau lole pani no na lole i lilo, ua alua malama i hala no ka lapaau ana.

Ua maopopo loa i ke kane a ka mea i mai, ka lauwiki o ka lapaau ana a ua kahuna nei, a he nui no hoi kona mau akua makani ke noho mai, a eia ka inoa o ua mau akua ala ona. O Ulunui, Kalehuamakanoe, Ulamealani, Kukona, a pela aku. O ka noho aku keia o ka mai me ka lapaau oleia, he wahi laau iki no nae iloko o ka omole. A ma ka po o ka la 15 o Iune, akahi no a hoi ke mai ua o Kukeliikahaoa i ka pau o kona ike, akahi no hoi a ae mai e hoihoi ka mai iuka, a i ke ao ana ae o ka 15 o Iune, haalele mai ana o Kamakolu i ka la i ka mea mahana, aloha ino!

Ke ano o ka hoohalike ana me ka hekili—Pamalo; no ka olelo mai o ua kahuna la e pau loa ana ka poe o Kamakolu i ka make. Make iho la nae o Kamakolu, ua hele lako ka wahine kane, a o ko makou mea weliweli loa o ka i mai ua make au. Nolaila, e hoomanawanui oe e ka Nupepa Kuokoa i keia mau olelo, a e lawe aku me ka hikiwawe loa! E holo i ka loa ame ka laula o ke Aupuni o ko Hawaii nei Pae Aina. Me ke aloha no.

Waimanalo, Koolaulupo, Oahu, Iune 27, 1863

N. JOHN KIMO.

The sixth *kahuna ho'opunipuni* letter was written by an individual who called himself Waimānalo, which is probably a pseudonym. This correspondence ridicules Kimo's July 4 letter.

Waimānalo mentions a person named Kauka who was Dr. Gerrit P. Judd, a former missionary physician.⁵¹ The writer claims that Kimo had a contract on an island with bird droppings which relates to Dr. Judd's connection to the guano trade on the islands of Baker, Howland and Jarvis.⁵²

October 10, 1863

To the Multitudes.

EDITOR.—In *Nupepa Kuokoa*, Number 27 of Book II, I saw a letter written by N. J. Kimo entitled "False *Kahuna* Who Resembles The Thunder Without Rain." I read it from the beginning to the end. And because I understand the "falsehood" of what he said before the public, and because I think the multitudes will be led astray by these false words, therefore, I have brought up this issue to protect the one who has been sinfully defamed by N. John Kimo, namely Kaai (female).

Perhaps the thing that strikes the multitudes is the question, "Who is this N. J. K.? Is he a person steeped in faith? What does he do?" When the appropriate answer to this question is known then perhaps the public can choose and make up their minds about the truth and righteousness of what he says.

Kaai (female) is an old *Kahuna* from Waimānalo, and there were many people cured by her medical treatment. And even Kimo said, "She (Kaai) was good before." And just because of this problem with Kamakolu, it was as if she had been suddenly cursed with evil. What does Kimo think about foreign *Kahuna*? Do they become false people when one of the sick patients they treat die? I think not. But perhaps Kimo is a child who has just been weaned and this is remnants of his childhood that he is ignorantly chatting about. And some people say, "No, Kimo is an adult. He has a yearly contract on top of an island with bird droppings that is for Kauka and his coworkers. He has just returned from there and has circulated his thoughts in the *Kuokoa*." I don't know if this is true. I heard some astounding words about Kimo some days ago. He went to an anniversary memorial reception where he cried a lot. Then he danced to filthy songs, as if he was going to the side of the grave to desecrate the dead people. If these things are true, then, it is as if Kimo went to carry taro bundles on the Nu'uānu cliffs and fell off. And the gentle ways of his good thoughts have changed. This change caused him to go and gossip in front of the public without first questioning whether what he said was true or false.

Here is the last message before the multitudes. All the words that Kimo publicized in the serial previously mentioned are not at all true from the beginning to the end. Perhaps the public knows that if Kimo were a good person then he would have gone straight to Kaai (female) for the proper counsel. He wouldn't have come out so quickly with the publication about Kaai (female) in front of the multitudes. If Kaai were a male then there wouldn't be any talk for they would be two boys. But these are damaging words about a woman who cannot defend herself. This is the thing which shows how Kimo is unfamiliar with manners befitting good people. With regards.

Sept 30, 1863.

WAIMĀNALO.

*I ka lehulehu.*⁵³

E KA LUNA HOOPONOPONO.—*Ua ike au ma ka Helu 27 o ka Buke II o ka Nupepa Kuokoa, i kekahi leta i kakauia e N. J. Kimo, nona ke poo "Kahuna Hoopunipuni, i hoohalikeia me ka hekili pamalo."* Ua heluhelu au mai ka mua a ka hope, a no ko'u ike maopopo ana i ka "oiaio ole" o na mea ana i kamailio ae nei imua o ke akea, a no kuu manao ana no hoi o alakai hewa ia ka lehulehu e keia mau olelo oiaio ole, nolaila keia hapai ana, e pale ae i ka mea e hoino hala ole ia nei e ua N. John Kimo nei, oia hoi o Kaai (w.)

O ka mea paha i ku i ka lehulehu ke ninau iho, oia no. Owai la keia N. J. K.? He kanaka anei oia i ku i ka manaoioia aku? Heaha kana hana? Aia paha a maopopo ka pane kuponoia ana mai o keia ninau, alaila, hiki i ka lehulehu ke wae a hooholo i ko lakou manao, no ka oiaio a me ka pono o kana e olelo nei.

He Kahuna kahiko no o Kaai (w) no Waimanalo, a ua nui no ka poe i hoolaila mamuli o kana lapaau ana, a wahi no hoi a ua Kimo nei, "he maikai no oia (Kaai) mamua." A me he mea la no keia pilikia ana o Kamakolu, o ka hoouili kokeia ku la no o ka ino. Pehea la ko Kimo manao i na Kahuna haole? Ua lilo anei lakou he poe hoopunipuni no ka make ana o kekahi o na poe mai a lakou i lapaau ai? Ke manao nei au aole. Aka, malia paha, he keiki o Kimo i akahi a ukuhiia, a o kona koena kamalii no keia ana e kukahekahe hupo mai nei. A ke olelo mai nei hoi kekahi poe, "aole, he kanaka nui no o Kimo, —i ke kumakahiki no iluna o kekahi mokupuni lepo manu o Kauka ma, a malaila no ia i hoi mai nei a hoolaha i ka manao ona iloko o ke Kuokoa." Aohe i maopopo ia'u ka oiaio o ia mea. Ua lohe mai no au i kekahi mau olelo kupanaha no ua Kimo nei, oia ka i kekahi mau la mamua aku nei la, hele kela i kahi o kekahi ahaaina hoomanao la make, a ilaila oia kahi i uwe ai a pau, alaila hula iho me na mele ano haumia, me he mea la, e hele ana oia a ma ke kae o ka luakupapau e hoomaewaewa aku ai i ka poe make. Ina he oiaio keia mau mea, alaila, me he mea la, ua hele o ua o Kimo i ka hali pai kalo ma ka pali o Nuuanu a hinaia i ka pali, a kahuli ke ana kau malie o kona manao maikai, a na ia kahuli ana o kona manao maikai i koi mai ia ia e hele e kukalekale imua o ke akea, me ka ninau mua ole i ka oiaio a me ka oiaio ole o kana mea i kamailio ai.

Eia ka leo hope imua o ka lehulehu, o na olelo a pau a Kimo i hoolaha'i ma ka helu i olelo mua ia, aohe oiaio iki mai ka mua a ka hope. Ua maopopo no paha i ka lehulehu, ina o Kimo he kanaka maikai, alaila, ina la ua hele maoli aku oia a ao pono aku ia Kaai (w); aole la e alawiki i ka hoolaha ia Kaai (w) imua o ka lehulehu. Ina no la paha he kane o Kaai, ina la aohe olelo ana, he mau keikikane laua a elua; aka, o ka olelo hoinoino ana'ku i ka wahine, i ka mea hiki ole ke pale ia ia iho, he mea ia nana e hoike mai i ko Kimo pili iki ole ana i na rula ku i ka poe maikai. Me ke aloha.

Sept 30, 1863

WAIMANALO.

Kimo angrily replies to Waimanalo's verbal jab in the following letter published a month later in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*. He embellishes his message with poetic expressions of sarcasm as in the line, "You slept at Kanikū in the expanse of Alaka'i." To sleep on the rough lava bed at Kanikū meant to be in trouble.⁵⁴

Kimo continues to be sarcastic as he says that the 'Ole nights deny that his adversary is a native of Waimānalo. The word 'ole means "to deny."⁵⁵

Many gods were said to possess the *kahuna* in the next letter such as Pua, Kapowaimakanui, Keawenuikauohilo and Kuamu. Ii explains that Pua and Kapo were part of a group of mysterious beings from Kahiki. They traveled to all the islands where it is believed they spread fatal diseases among the people.⁵⁶ According to Malo, Pua and Kapo were of the class of deities called *akua noho* who took possession of people and talked through them. These deities were greatly feared because they caused deaths by swelling the abdomens of victims or obstructing their bowels.⁵⁷ Nathaniel B. Emerson, Malo's translator, says Pua and Kapo were of the female sex and that they were sent along with Keawenuikauohilo and Kuamu by their keepers on missions.⁵⁸ Kamakau has a good deal of information on Pua and Kapo. He says their guardian was Kaiakea who's daughter set up taboos and built houses for these gods who inspired her to prophesize the loss of O'ahu to Kahekili. Kamehameha also built houses for the Pua gods.⁵⁹

Kapowaimakanui, another god mentioned in the letter, is probably Kapo. Kapo and Kuamu were 'aumakua, or "deified ancestors."⁶⁰ These spirit messengers were said to be women who excelled in the *kahuna* arts during their lifetime, says J. S. Emerson in "Some Hawaiian Beliefs Regarding Spirits."⁶¹

Several early Hawaiian writers spoke of Keawenuikauohilo as being a mortal who became a female goddess of the same rank as Kuamu, Kuawa, Kapo and Pua. If the keeper of this god was angry at someone, say Kekoa, he would send her on an errand saying,

O Keawe-nui-kau-o-hilo, go to Kekoa. Enter his head. Enter his rectum. He is your poi. He is your fish. Kekoa is your house to live in until you kill him. Kill Kekoa. Carry out my wish! Don't you stay and think of those here, of your guardian. You have no food here.⁶²

The last god mentioned in this letter was Kuamu. J. S. Emerson in "The Lesser Hawaiian Gods" called the god "an inferior demon in the form of a man."⁶³ Kuamu's name was also shouted as men carried logs down to a Hawaiian temple.⁶⁴

October 24, 1863

Last Reply.

Ka Nupepa Kuokoa: Greetings to you:

I met with the thoughts of Nameless whose headline "To the Multitudes" appeared in Number 41 of the *Kuokoa* on October 10. And I'm defending the words that I, Kimo, N. Keoni, called Kaai (female) "a false *Kahuna* who resembles the thunder without rain." Here is my reply. Every word that appeared in Number 27 of the *Kuokoa* is true. Since that time Kaai has committed many other dastardly deeds. And because I felt that the multitudes might be led astray by this sort of false medical practice, I consequently exposed her in the open. But I did not see Nameless there in the first days when the treatment commenced and she took \$10 from the patient's hands without hesitation. Nonetheless, she said the patient was going to live even though it looked as if she would not survive. And Kahopuna said, "If this is not right for you, then it is best to resume the search for another *Kahuna*." But Kaai (female) did not even speak. Afterwards she replied, "No *Kahuna* will cure her. A *Kahuna* who just treats her with medicine will not succeed, but I will cure her." And because of these words of the *Kahuna*, we ended our search for a new one. There were numerous gods possessing this *Kahuna* who were revealed in Number 27. There were others such as Pua, Kapowaimakanui, Keawenuikauohilo, Kuamu and many more. These gods spoke on important matters concerning the health of Kamakolu and all of their words passed through Kaai's mouth. And we truly believed and supposed that Kamakolu was really going to be cured, but it was not to be so. Thus, all of the words the *Kahuna* uttered were a trap to fall inside of a pit. And that's why I call her false.

Nevertheless, my partner in conversation asks, "Who is Kimo, N. J.?" Here is a brief answer. I am he. I did not hide my name. My place is located in the serenity of Inia o Hamau at the Luaapana residence. Who then are you? You have hidden your name because I have not seen or heard of a person named "Waimānalo." And on account of your words comparing Kaai with the foreigners, I say that the foreigners are not like Kaai because gods do not possess foreign Doctors. But you, in hiding your name, are like that *Kahuna* and your words are like the words of those lying gods.

Kapilimeai says he heard that I, Kimo N. J., went to an anniversary memorial reception and cried there and danced to obscene songs.

I ask, who did you hear this from? Perhaps you mistakenly dreamt it in the night? You slept at Kanikū in the expanse of Alaka'i. This is perhaps remnants of your childhood, oh friend, taking the words of a dream and hearsay and falsely exhibiting it before the public. I am not like that, oh friend. I wouldn't take someone else's sight and another's hearing and reveal it in the open. I can see for real and I have excellent hearing. I deny that I cried and I did not dance at the anniversary memorial reception.

Here is my question: Isn't it really you, Kaai, who is replying in the newspaper and isn't it a strange thing? In my opinion it's very unusual. I ask again, where were you when I published my statement on the 27th of June? Were you on a tour of the twisted areas of the earth so that you didn't hear about it? Or is it possible that your ears are deaf, in which case you should clean out the ear wax. If you heard late then you answered late because you just heard about it.

It was made known in last week's paper that you are a native child of Waimānalo. The four 'Ole nights of the summer moon and the three 'Ole nights of the next moon deny it. And the locals of Waimānalo deny that you are a Hawaiian native. You said in the last presentation of your ideas that if I was a good person I would not have been so quick to publicize it. It would have been fair if Kaai was a man, for then it would not have been worth mentioning. I say my friend is probably blind not to see the words circulated about Waahia [in a May letter published in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*].⁶⁵ And if you, oh friend, are a man who stands by the rules of good people, why do you not forbid this thing. Look at the Holy Scriptures about Adam and the evil Eve. God did not secretly hide their wrong like you are grossly doing. There's a song which says: "the 'a'ali'i [native hardwood shrub or tree (*Dodonaea*)]⁶⁶ leaf, tied fast, breaks, scattered bunch on the path to Kalokini [unknown place name], crushed on the cliff of Waialoha [unknown place name]."

I don't intend to prolong my speech. However, because I believe the thoughts of the populace will be diverted by the words of this man, therefore, I am exerting myself to the limit and leaving nothing out.

Oh Editor of *Nupepa Kuokoa*, be patient with my little baggage that I have inserted in this week's paper. With regards.

Waimānalo, Oct. 14, 1863.

KIMO, N. JOHN.

*Pane Hope.*⁶⁷

E ka Nupepa Kuokoa e: Aloha oe:

Ua halawai mai au me na manao o Inoaole, nona ke poo i kakauia "I ka lehulehu," i hoopukaia hoi ma ka helu 41 o ke Kuokoa, o ka la 10 o Okatoba. A e pale ana hoi i kela mau huaolelo a'u a Kimo N. Keoni nei i kapa aku ai ia Kaai w. "he Kahuna hoopunipuni i like me ka hekili pamalo." Eia ka'u pane aku. O kela mau olelo a pau loa i puka ma ka helu 27 o ke Kuokoa, he oiaio kela. He nui no hoi na hana hoopunipuni e ae a Kaai w. i hana'i iloko o ia manawa, a no kuu manao o alakai hewa aku ia i ka lehulehu ma ke ano o ka lapaau hoopunipuni, nolaila wau i hoike ai ma ke akea; aka, aole nae hoi au i ike o Inoaole kekahi malaila, i na la mua o ka hoomaka ana e lapaau, a lawe mua i ka \$10 mai ka lima aku o ka mai, me ke kanahua ole. Aka, olelo iho la kela, e ola ana no ia ia; aka, i ka nana aku, he ano ola ole ia ia, a i aku o Kahopuna, "ina he pono ole ia oe, alaila, e aho e imi hou aku i Kahuna." Aole nae he kama'ilio iki mai o Kaai w. a mahope pane mai kela "Aole Kahuna e ola'i, e lapaau wale no Kahuna aole e loaa ia lakou keia mai, owau mai no ke ola." A no keia mau olelo a ke Kahuna, pau loa ae la ko makou imi Kahuna hou ana'ku. A no ka nui o na akua noho iluna o ua Kahuna nei, oia no hoi kela i hoikeia ma ka helu 27, oia hoi o Pua, Kapowaimakanui, Keawenuikauohilo, Kuamu, a he nui aku no koe. Olelo iho la keia mau akua ma na mea nui e pili ana i ke ola o Kamakolu, a puka mai la ka lakou mau olelo a pau ma ko Kaai waha, a o ka makou ia i manaoio ai, kuhi makou e ola io ana, eia kauanei aole. Nolaila, lilo iho la na olelo a pau ana i olelo mai ai, i papele e haule ai oia iloko o ke meti, a kapa aku la wau ia ia he hoopunipuni.

Aka hoi, ke ninau nei kuu hoa kama'ilio, "Owai la o Kimo N. J.?" Eia ka ekemu malaila, owau no ia, aole au i huna i ko'u inoa. Aia ko'u wahi ma ka malu o ka Inia o Hamau, ka hale noho o Luaapana. Owai hoi oe i huna ai i kou inoa, no ka mea, aole au i ike a i lohe hoi i kekahi kanaka i kapaia o "Wai-manalo." A no kau olelo hoohalikeia Kaai me na haole, ke i aku nei au, aole i like na haole me Kaai, no ka mea hoi, aohe akua noho mai iluna o na Kauka haole; aka hoi, o oe i kou huna ana i kou inoa, ua like oe me kela Kahuna, a ua like kau mau olelo me ka olelo a kela poe akua hoopunipuni.

Ke i mai nei ua o Kapilimeaiiki, ua lohe ka ia ua hele aku au o Kimo N. J. nei i kahi o ka ahaaina hoomanao la make, a uwe malaila, a hula malaila i na mele haumia.

Ke ninau nei au, i lohe oe ia wai? I moe hewa paha oe i ka po nei? I moe no i Kaniku i ka loa o Alakai. O kou koena kamalii paha ia e ka hoa, o kou lawe

ana mai i na olelo o ka moeuhane a me ka lohe pepeiao, a hoike wahahee imua o ka lehulehu. Aole au pela e ke hoa, ka lawe mai i ko hai ike, a me ko hai lohe a hoike ae ma ke akea, he ikemaka maoli ko'u, a he lohe pono loa ko'u. Ke hoole aku nei au aole wau i uwe, a aole no hoi au i hula ma ia ahaaina hoomanalo la make.

Nolaila, eia ka'u ninau: O oe io no anei e Kaai keia e pane mai nei iloko o ka nupepa, a he mea e anei? I kuu manao ana he mea e no. Ke ninau hou aku nei au, i hea iho nei la oe i ka wa i hoopuka ai au i ka'u mau olelo, i ka la 27 o Iune, i ke kaapuni paha oe ma ka ilihualala o ka honua, i lohe ole ai oe? A i ole ia he kuli paha kou pepeiao, e ohikihiki ke kokuli. Ina paha i lohe kahiko oe ina la ua ekemu kahiko mai, akahi no ka oe a lohe.

Nolaila ua hoike ia iloko o ka pepa o ka pule i hala aku nei, he keiki kupa oe no Waimanalo, a ke hoole mai nei na ole eha (4) o ka Mahina kau, a me na ole ekolu (3) o ka Mahina hiki mai, a ke hoole mai nei na kamaaina o Waimanalo aole oe he kupa kanaka. A ke olelo nei oe, ma ke kukulu hope o kou manao, ina ka owau he kanaka maikai aole la e alawiki i ka hoolaha, mai pono no ia ina la he kane o Kaai, aole la he olelo ana, nolaila, ke i iho nei au, he makapo ka paha kuu hoa, i ike ole ai i ka olelo i hoolahaia no Waahia. A ina o oe e ke hoa he kanaka i ku i ka rula o ka poe maikai, heaha kou mea i papa ole aku ai ia mea. E nana i ka palapala Hemolele no Adamu, a me ka hewa o Ewa. Aole ke Akua i huna malu ia hewa, e like me kau e kapulu mai nei, oia hoi kahi mele i oleloia: hai ka lauaalii ka lawakua, popo lu i ke ala i Kalokini lumilumia ka pali o Waialoha.

Aole o'u manao e hooloihi i kuu olelo ana; aka, no kuu manao, o aui a uanei ka manao o ka lehulehu ma ka olelo a keia kanaka, nolaila, ke kuupau nei au i ke kihikihi, a koe no kekahi.

E ka Luna Hooponopono o ka Nupepa Kuokoa, e hoomanawanui oe i kuu wahi ukana, e hookomo iho ma ka pepa o keia pule. Me ke aloha.

Waimanalo, Oct 14, 1863.

KIMO, N. JOHN.

The eighth *kahuna ho'opunipuni* letter tells of an interesting case of medium possession. The spirit of the patient's deceased mother possessed the ill girl and therefore the native physician was trying to send this spirit to possess the girl's healthier sister. In traditional Hawaiian belief spirits of deceased relatives or close friends can possess an afflicted family member.⁶⁸

July 18, 1863

False Medical *Kahuna*.

Nupepa Kuokoa; Greetings to you:

Here at Waiāhole, Ko'olau Poko, O'ahu, is a False Medical *Kahuna* named Kamaka, and his wife is Kaeho. They came to Wai-Kāne to treat a sick girl named Meleana.

The *Kahuna* went to the patient's place. She told the grandparents and parents of the sick one, "She wants the mother who gave birth to her. The mother's spirit is standing here trying to get her to go. No smart *kahuna* can cure her illness, but if she is mine to work on she will live. If \$1.50 is paid first, then this trouble will end."

Therefore, the grandparents gave \$1.50 and the *Kahuna* announced, "I'll summon the spirit of the mother to possess the older girl, Kale." Such were the words of this *Kahuna*. The *Kahuna* asked for the name of the mother who gave birth to Meleana. The grandparents answered, "Kaleihaili is her mother."

The *Kahuna* declared the following: "Kaleihaili, possess Kale and restore health to Meleana!" Thus were his words. For four days he did that, but the spirit never possessed Kale like he first said it would. The *Kahuna* asked for chicken [a customary item offered to the gods on behalf of a sick person]⁶⁹ and pig, and when these things were acquired, he performed the treatment. The patient never recovered. The *Kahuna* blundered and he left right after this.

Wai-Kāne, Ko'olau Poko, O'ahu, July 6, 1863.

With gratitude,
S. E. K.

Kahuna Lapaa Hoopunipuni.⁷⁰

E ka Nupepa Kuokoa e; Aloha oe:

Eia ma Waiāhole, Koolāupoko, Oahu, kekahi Kahuna Lapaa Hoopunipuni, o Kamaka kona inoa, o Kaeho ka inoa o kana wahine. Ua hele mai laua ma Waikane, e lapaa i kekahi kaikamehine mai, o Meleana kona inoa.

Hele ua Kahuna nei a hiki ma kahi o ka mea mai, olelo aku la i na kupuna, a me na makua o ka mea mai, "He make ko ia nei i ka makuahine nana i hana mai, eia la ke ku mai nei, e kii mai ana e hele pu, aole he kahuna aka-mai e ola ai keia mai o ia nei, a ina ia nei na'u e hana, ola, ke uku mua mai nae i \$1.50; alaila pau keia pilikia."

Alaila haawi mai na kupuna \$1.50, alaila, olelo mai la ua Kahuna nei, "E hoonoho ae au i ka uhane o ka makuahine iluna o ke kaikuaana, oia hoi o Kale, pela ka olelo ana a ua Kahuna nei, ninau aku la ua Kahuna nei i ka inoa o ka makuahine nana i hanau mai o Meleana, hai mai la na kahuna o Kaleihaili ko ia nei makuahine."

Olelo ae la ua Kahuna nei, penei: "E Kaleihaili e! e noho oe iluna o Kale, e hoihoi mai oe i ke ola o Meleana." Pela kana olelo ana, eha la ana i hana ai pela, aole no i noho iki mai ka uhane iluna o Kale, e like me kana i olelo mua ai. Olelo hou mai no ua Kahuna nei, i moa, i puaa, a pau ia mau mea i ka loa, i hana iho ka hana, aole no he ola iki. Hoaa iho la ua Kahuna nei, a ma ia hope iho, holo aku la ua Kahuna nei.

Waikane, Koolaupoko, Oahu, Iulai 6, 1863.

*Me ka mahalo
S. E. K.*

In the ninth letter, the *kahuna* was accused of catching a girl's spirit. Malo writes,

The *makaula*, or prophet, was one who was reputed to be able to see a spirit, to seize and hold it in his hand and then squeeze it to death . . . The *makaula* made a spirit visible by catching it with his hands; he then put it into food and fed it to others. Any one who ate of that food would see the spirit of that person, be it of the dead or of the living."⁷¹

The spirit-catcher, or *kahuna po'i 'uhane*,⁷² restored a person's life by catching the spirit and returning it to the body. He could also snatch a spirit and keep it from returning to a living person and thereby cause death.⁷³

November 7, 1863

Current Events of Hawai'i

False Kahuna—We heard that there is a False *Kahuna* here in Honolulu. His name is Naone. Such is the nature of his deceit: when a girl living close to his place died, this *Kahuna* said she died because he caught her spirit. Say friends, don't believe him and any others like him. And it is imperative that all the Police of this Nation watch for this kind of person so they can be arrested for seeking to make gains through cheating. Because this kind of person is allowed to go free, they will scare the people with lies. And the people will believe them because of their sly, persuasive words.

*Na Mea Hou o Hawaii Nei*⁷⁴

Kahuna Hoopunipuni—Ua lohe mai makou, aia ka ma Honolulu nei kekahi Kahuna Hoopunipuni, o Naone kona inoa. Penei ke ano o kona hoopunipuni: I ka make ana iho nei ka o kekahi kaikamahine e noho koke ana ma kona wahi: aia hoi, olelo iho la ua Kahuna nei, i make ka no ke poiia ana o ka uhane e ua Kahuna nei. Ea, e na makamaka, mai puni oukou ia ia, a i kekahi mea paha e like ana me kona ano. A he mea pono no hoi i na Makai a pau o ke Aupuni, ke hakilo i ka poe oia ano, i hopuia ai lakou, no ka imi loa ma ka hoopunipuni. No ka mea, ke hele nei na poe oia ano, e hoomak'auk'au wahahee i ka poe e puni mai ana mamuli o ka ia poe mali leo maalea ana.

The writer of the tenth and last letter called himself Imiola which is probably a pseudonym and means "to seek health."⁷⁵ Imiola says in the letter that he is a priest, and from his comments it is clear that he is not Hawaiian. His statement about the decrease in native deaths and an increase in births sounds very peculiar because the Hawaiian population dropped from 70,000 to 57,000 between 1853 and 1866.⁷⁶

November 21, 1863

For the Organization.

TO THE EDITOR: GREETINGS TO YOU. There is word about the renewed growth of this Hawaiian Nation which some people have just recognized. One wish is for good health. Thus, it is right to encourage thoughts relating to this prosperity. It is clear that there has been a decrease in deaths and an increase in births which have improved the progress of the Hawaiian Nation. But here is a question: "How did this come about?"

Some people believe it is not possible to cause an increase of the Hawaiian People. But that's not the way I think. I believe there will be a renewed growth if they do things like a famous General had decreed. These are his words to his soldiers: "Believe in God and take good care of your powder."

I think that if the Hawaiian People believe in God and take good care of their own bodies, then they will increase again. The women will not lack children if they live righteously with their married husbands.

Within the last two years I traveled throughout your Archipelago. And in my occupation as Priest, I fraternized with the people and entered their homes. And it is clear to me that some people are falling inside a pit of death because of the lack of medical attention. It is true, the hospital was built in Honolulu [Queen's Hospital]. But this bless-

ing is not enough for the whole race. Just a few people are going in there. It is in the countryside and in the remote areas of this Archipelago that most of them are lying in the fire of illness.

And therefore, the Government should choose some Doctors and they should tour this Archipelago and treat the sick people. The hospital in Honolulu is a water spring for this place, and these Doctors will become canals to bring healing everywhere in this Archipelago.

The Hawaiian *kāhuna* should be forbidden because they are working in ignorance and are trying to revive superstition. This work will heat up the wrath of God upon the Hawaiians. These *kāhuna* are leading the people into the darkness of paganism. And if they are not restricted and the people return to superstition, then, from hence forward, there will be no limit to the dreadful condemnation from God and death.

IMIOLA

*No ka Hui.*⁷⁷

I KA LUNA HOOPONOPONO; ALOHA OE. Ua ike ia iho nei na olelo a kekahi poe no ka ulu hou ana o keia Lahuikanaka. He mea makemakeia ke ola, nolaila, he pono ke hoeueuia na manao e pili ana ia pomaikai. Ua akaka, aia ma ka hooemi ana i ka make, a hoomahuahua ana i na mea hanau, e ulu hou ai ka Lahuikanaka. Aka, eia ka ninau, pehea e hiki ai ia mau mea?

Ua manao kahi poe, he hana hiki ole ka hooulu hou i ka Lahui Hawaii; aka, aole pela ko'u manao. Ke manao nei au e ulu hou no, ina hana lakou e like me ka olelo kauoha a kekahi Alihikaua kaulana. Penei kana olelo i na koa ona, "E hilinai aku i ke Akua, a e malama pono i ka oukou pauda."

Ke manao nei au, ina e hilinai keia Lahuikanaka i ke Akua, a me ka malama pono ana i ko lakou mau kino iho, alaila, e ulu hou no lakou. Aole na wahine e nele i na keiki, ina e noho pono lakou me ko lakou mau kane mare.

Iwaena o na makahiki elua i hala'e nei, ua kaahela au i kau wahi o keia Pae Aina; a ma ka'u oihana Kahunapule, ua launa au me na kanaka, ua komo au iloko o ko lakou mau hale, a ua akaka ia'u ke haule nei kekahi poe iloko o ka lua o ka make, no ka lapaau ole ia. He oiaio, ua kukuluia ka hale lapaau mai ma Honolulu, aka, aole i lawa ia pomaikai no ka lahui holookoa. He uuku wale ka poe e komo ana malaila. Aia ma kuaaina, a ma na wahi kaawale o keia Pae Aina, e moe ana na mea he nui wale iloko o ke ahi o ka mai.

A nolaila, e pono ke koho iho ke Aupuni i kekahi mau Kauka, na lakou e hele kaapuni i keia Pae Aina, a e lapaau i ka poe mai. O ka hale lapaau mai ma Honolulu, he punawai ia no ia wahi, a o keia poe Kauka, e lilo lakou i mau auwai e lawe ana i ke ola mai o a o o keia Pae Aina.

E papaia na kahuna kanaka, no ka mea, ke hana nei lakou me ka hupo, a ke hoala hou nei hoi i ka hoomanamana—ka hana e wela mai ai ka inaina o ke Akua i na kanaka. Ke alakai nei keia poe kahuna i na kanaka iloko o ka pouli o ka pegana; a ina e papa ole ia lakou, a hoi hou na kanaka i ka hoomanamana, alaila, aole o kanamai, ma keia hope aku, ka hoahewaia mai ke Akua mai, ame ka make.

IMIOLA

AFTERWORD

The *kahuna ho'opunipuni* letters were written during Kamehameha IV's last year as monarch of the Hawaiian kingdom. Also known as Alexander Liholiho, he died on Nov. 30, 1863.⁷⁸ Three years before his death Liholiho along with his wife Queen Emma helped to establish Queen's Hospital for the benefit of sick and destitute Hawaiians. The head physician at the hospital, Dr. William Hillebrand, also a *kahuna* critic, made this comment about native Hawaiians in the government-controlled newspaper *The Polynesian* in 1863:

Ignorant and superstitious, accustomed by his ancient kahunas to view only a supernatural agency in disease and remedy, he cannot easily reconcile himself to the sober unpretentious working of a scientific method in curing disease . . . Their faith in the old kahunas has not been demolished yet, but faith in the foreign kahunas seems to have sensibly increased, and what the final result will be, it is not difficult to guess.⁷⁹

It is obvious that the *kāhuna* described in the 1863 letters were native and not Western doctors, for they practiced Hawaiian therapeutics which involved supernatural forces. N. John Kimo, who wrote the October 24 letter, proclaimed, “. . . I say that the foreigners are not like Kaai because gods do not possess foreign Doctors.”

While all of the letters deal with the unsuccessful attempts of Hawaiian physicians to cure their patients, comparable information on *haole*, or foreign,⁸⁰ doctors in Hawai'i is non-existent in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* for the given year. This seems to indicate that unlike *haole* doctors, Hawaiian *kāhuna* were subject to public criticism when their patients did not get well or died. This disparity was referred to in the October 10 letter signed by Waimānalo:

Kaai (female) is an old *Kahuna* from Waimānalo, and there were many people cured by her medical treatment. And even Kimo said, "She (Kaai) was good before." And just because of this problem with Kama-kolu, it was as if she had been suddenly cursed with evil. What does Kimo think about foreign *Kahuna*? Do they become false people when one of the sick patients they treat die? I think not.

Waimānalo was the only person who wrote in support of any of the *kāhuna* condemned in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* during the year 1863. N. John Kimo dared him to reveal his real name, but Waimānalo chose to remain anonymous, probably in fear of being the next target of criticism.

One theme that runs throughout most of the letters against *kāhuna* is that the writers were trying to teach the populace what was right and what was wrong—no doubt a Christian-influenced practice. The mere existence of so many of these letters on the subject shows that one part of the Hawaiian community took it upon themselves to "enlighten" the people. Their aim was consistent with the aim of the newspaper *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*: "to promote the moral and intellectual progress of the nation."⁸¹

As stated earlier, the Christian community during this time in Hawaiian history was noted for their censure of Hawaiian customs and practices. However, they met with some resistance on the part of Prince Lot Kapuāiwa, brother of Kamehameha IV, who tried to revive traditional ways. In addition to his help in establishing a licensing law for hula dancers in 1859,⁸² Prince Lot had his agent Kapu issue licenses to about 300 *kāhuna*.⁸³ When he ascended the throne as Kamehameha V at the end of 1863, the pro-Hawaiian faction in the community received royal support for their efforts. Hawaiians such as W. H. Uaua, J. H. Napela, and J. K. Unauna, though still cautious, were now able to express their opinions more openly under the new regime. They had been appointed by the Medical Society at Wailuku, Maui, to report on several issues dealing with Hawaiian medicine, and their letters to the chairman appeared in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* in March of 1867. Their letters advocated the continued practice of *kāhuna*, save for the type of medical treatment which employed sorcery.

The first, Uaua, was asked to consider the question, "Can the Hawaiian medical practice understand certain of the ailments of a

person and know the proper medicines for this and that sickness?" He presented this statement:

... I can state positively, there are among the Hawaiian relatives here ... a body of skilled priests who by feeling or massaging can ascertain the ailment within a person, and they will foretell his sickness and the suitable medicines also ... and if sought and inquired for in accordance with the desire of this Assembly, it will be the means of great benefit to the populace. This skilled practice was the medical treatment of Hawaii here, not joining with sorcery and idolatry.⁸⁴

The second writer, Napela, examined this question: "Are there any proper medicines in Hawaii here for the treatment of ailments at this time in various places?" He testified that there were many and that the sick could obtain the medicinal plants quickly and without cost.⁸⁵

The third reporter, Unauna, was asked, "Is it proper to entirely reject, and cease for good the medical treatment with Hawaiian plants, and wholly transfer the medical practice to the foreign medicines under the treatment of approved Doctors appointed by the Board of Health?" He voiced the following reply:

It is not proper to abolish entirely the medical practice with Hawaiian plants, but, as a means to end deceptive methods as practiced by medical priests at this time, let us freely encourage this work, and it may be there are some persons with love for the Hawaiian race who will help us in this great work.⁸⁶

Immediately after the publication of these three letters, the Hawaiian Evangelical Association adopted a report in June of 1867 which showed that purposeful attempts were being made to destroy the *kahuna* profession. The Association was one of the forces which ardently continued to weaken the influence of Hawaiian medical practitioners. The report read:

... we think that the simple and not very expensive system which we herein recommend would in a reasonable time undermine the influence of native doctors in every district, and counteract the growing tendency to revive the worship of false gods and the belief in the old Hawaiian sorcery.⁸⁷

Kamehameha V refused to submit to Christian censure and counteracted with an official act which rescued native doctors. *An Act to Establish a Hawaiian Board of Health* was instituted in 1868 and read in part:

His Majesty the King shall appoint a Board of Health of native-born Hawaiians, consisting of three persons, who shall serve during the King's pleasure, and whose duty it shall be to examine and enquire into the qualifications and good moral character of native Hawaiians who wish to practice medicine in this Kingdom.⁸⁸

Whereas the *kāhuna* received royal sanctions from Kamehameha V, their problems did not diminish over time. Nearly thirty years after the 1863 *kahuna ho'opunipuni* letters were written, native physicians continued to be publicly condemned in the local newspapers. "The Kahuna is the deadly enemy of Christian civilization,"⁸⁹ pronounced *The Friend*, a mission-sponsored periodical,⁹⁰ in 1892.

NOTES

I would like to thank the late Paki Neves who offered his guidance and expertise in this work and John Charlot and Larry Kimura for providing me with their opinions on those sections of the letters which were most difficult to comprehend.

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² Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary* 1986: 356.

³ Samuel Manaiakalani Kamakau, *Ka Po'e Kahiko: The People of Old*, trans. Mary Kawena Pukui and arranged and ed. Dorothy B. Barrere, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Special Publication 51 (Honolulu: Bishop Museum P, 1964) 113.

⁴ Kamakau, *Ka Po'e Kahiko* 113.

⁵ Abraham Fornander, *Fornander Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folk-lore*, ed. Thomas G. Thrum, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Memoirs, vol. VI (Honolulu, 1919-1920) 70-74; E. S. Craighill Handy, Mary K. Pukui and Katherine Livermore, *Outline of Hawaiian Physical Therapeutics* (Honolulu: The Museum, 1934) 5-6; June Gutmanis, *Kahuna La'au Lapa'au* (Australia: Island Heritage Limited, 1977) 53.

⁶ Fornander, *Fornander Collection* 88-101.

⁷ Gutmanis, *Kahuna* 56-57.

⁸ Handy, Pukui and Livermore, *Outline* 14; J. Waimau, "Hoomana Kahiko. Helu 9," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* 9 March 1865 translated in Bacil F. Kirtley and Esther T. Mookini, "Essays upon Ancient Hawaiian Religion and Sorcery by Nineteenth-Century Seminarists," *HJH* 13 (1979): 79.

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- ¹⁰ Handy, Pukui and Livermore, *Outline* 14.
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- ¹³ Fornander, *Fornander Collection* 112.
- ¹⁴ David Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities (Moolelo Hawaii)*, trans. by Dr. Nathaniel B. Emerson, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Special Publication 2 (Honolulu: Bishop Museum P, 1951) 115 and 116; Kamakau, *Ka Po'e Kahiko* 53-55; Fornander, *Fornander Collection* vol. VI: 112-114; W. D. Alexander, *A Brief History of the Hawaiian People* (New York: American Book Co., 1891) 68; J. S. Emerson, "The Lesser Hawaiian Gods," *HHS Papers*, No. 2 (7 April 1892): 5 and 8; and Handy and Pukui, *The Polynesian Family* 134.
- ¹⁵ Kamakau, *Ka Po'e Kahiko* 138-139.
- ¹⁶ Alexander, *A Brief History* 68, quoted by E. S. Craighill Handy and Elizabeth Green Handy with the collaboration of Mary Kawena Pukui, *Native Planters in Old Hawaii: Their Life, Lore, and Environment*, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 233 (Honolulu: Bishop Museum P, 1972) 198.
- ¹⁷ Handy, Pukui and Livermore, *Outline* 6 and 10; and Mary K. Pukui, "Hawaiian Beliefs and Customs During Birth, Infancy, and Childhood," *Occasional Papers*, vol. XVI, no. 17 (Honolulu: Bishop Museum P, 1942) 360.
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- ²³ Fornander, *Fornander Collection* 72, note 5; Laura C. Green and Martha Warren Beckwith, "Hawaiian Customs and Beliefs Relating to Sickness and Death," *American Anthropologist* vol. 28, no. 1 (January-March 1926): 203; and Handy and Pukui, *The Polynesian Family* 150.
- ²⁴ Kamakau, *Ka Po'e Kahiko* 86; and Fornander, *Fornander Collection* 112.
- ²⁵ Handy and Handy, *Native Planters* 196.
- ²⁶ Fornander, *Fornander Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folk-lore*, ed. Thomas G. Thrum, vol. V (Honolulu: Bishop Museum P, 1918-1919) 668; and Handy and Handy, *Native Planters* 222-223.
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- ³¹ Theodore Kelsey, "Hawaiian Kuehu-Treatment" unpublished paper on file at the HMCS (Honolulu, n.d.) 1.
- ³² Kamakau, *Ka Po'e Kahiko* 140.
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- ³⁴ Green and Beckwith, "Hawaiian Customs" 200–201.
- ³⁵ Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary* (Honolulu: U P of Hawaii, 1971) 387.
- ³⁶ Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary* 1971: 383.
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- ³⁹ Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary* 1986: 338.
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- ⁴⁴ Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities* 108.
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- ⁴⁸ Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities* 96 and 108; Ii, *Fragments* 115; and Kamakau, *Ka Po'e Kahiko* 97.
- ⁴⁹ Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities* 108; Kamakau, *Ka Po'e Kahiko* 86; Handy and Handy, *Native Planters* 244; and Gutmanis, *Kahuna* 56 and 62.
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- ⁵⁷ Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities* 116.
- ⁵⁸ Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities* 118, notes 3 and 4; Kirtley and Mookini, "Essays" 76–79.
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- ⁷⁰ S. E. K., "Kahuna Lapau Hoopunipuni," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* 18 July 1863: 4.
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- ⁸⁹ "The Lanai," *The Friend* 50.
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